

# THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

No. CVIII.

OCTOBER 1884.

VOL. IX.

JOHN MACKINTOSH,

Author of "The History of Civilisation in Scotland."

RECENTLY we had occasion to notice in the *Celtic Magazine*, the third volume of the *History of Civilisation in Scotland*, by Mr John Mackintosh, Aberdeen, when we accorded "the highest praise to its excellence as a work of industry, great research, and unmistakeable genius." Reviewing the preceding volume of the same work, the *British Quarterly Review* declares that the author "has the fitness for the task which comes from a readiness to appreciate the profounder, intellectual, and moral influences. We accept his work with satisfaction, as a careful and praiseworthy attempt to elucidate a deeply interesting historical problem." The *Inverness Courier* truly declares that "the work throughout bears the impress of an acute and discriminating mind;" while the *People's Journal* states that "the style in which the second volume is written is clear and concise, with occasionally a force and intensity almost poetic, as if the author had warmed to his work in proportion as the human interest in it augmented." These are but a few specimens from a great many other favourable opinions of the invaluable work which John Mackintosh has now nearly finished; for his fourth and last volume is already far advanced towards completion.

A few particulars of the life and antecedents of such a man must prove interesting to the reader, especially so, when his humble origin and heroic struggles to improve his mind under

almost insuperable difficulties and adverse circumstances, become known. Of these early difficulties we are given a slight glance in the Preface to the third volume of the work. We are there told that the subject of it had occupied the mind of the author for a period of twenty-three years, during the whole of which he was employed at various other employments to enable him to earn a livelihood. The final form which the work assumed did not at first present itself to his mind, and only afterwards arose out of other inquiries in which he became engaged and deeply interested. Notwithstanding the great difficulty he had at first in procuring books and the necessary original material and documents for such a work, he soon succeeded in laying a good foundation, preparing himself, "by a course of philosophic study, embracing metaphysics, psychology, logic, ethics, and politics, carefully reading hundreds of books on these matters, both ancient and modern." His aim throughout has been, he informs us, to ascertain the essentials of everything that had contributed to the development and to the progress of the nation, and with this object, he says—"I have considered nothing to be irrelevant which seems to have had any influence upon the civilisation of the people. Merely to generalise or state results without inquiring into facts and circumstances is altogether alien to my conception and method, as I believe that in the present state of historical knowledge, such a method would be comparatively worthless." The result is an invaluable work, so far, on a subject which has hitherto received scarcely any attention, but which is of intense interest to the student of Scottish History. It is, therefore, but natural that the reader would like to know a little more about the author—this splendid specimen of Scottish pluck and perseverance in the pursuit of knowledge, and, better still, one who, when he had mastered the great subject for himself, has had the courage to place the result of his researches and studies at the disposal of his countrymen in the handsome volumes already in the hands of the public. It is gratifying to state that this courage, and faith in his countrymen, have been so far very fairly rewarded, and that however little he may benefit as yet financially by his researches and labours, the patronage already bestowed upon him has more than covered the cost of printing and publication.

No better or more interesting subject than the Life of John Mackintosh could be taken up by Mr Smiles, the fascinating biographer of other self-made men, like our present subject. And here we may be permitted to state, for the first time, that it was the perusal of his splendid book, *Self Help*, that first roused, in the present writer, the desire and ambition, even the hope and possibility, of ever being able to write anything. Until that great master of biographies takes the subject of these remarks in hand, the following particulars may prove interesting to his Highland countrymen.

The author of the *History of Civilisation in Scotland* was born in November 1833, in the Parish of Bottriphnie, in Banffshire. His father, William Mackintosh, served his country for fourteen years in the British army, during the greater part of which he was on active service. He was present at the battles of Vimiera, Corunna, Salamanca, and Vittoria, and was three times wounded—once in the shoulder; on the second occasion he had his leg broken below the knee, and on the third he had one of his thumbs carried away. Shortly after the battle of Vittoria he retired from the army with a pension, and for the remainder of his life he occupied a croft on the estate of Drummur, in which he was succeeded on his death, in 1856, by his son, John's eldest brother.

Mackintosh, having received a fairly good English education, as things went in those days, for one of his age, was sent out to farm work when only ten years old, and he remained in this occupation for the next seven years, with the exception of three winters, during which he attended school. He was then, at the age of seventeen, apprenticed to the shoemaking trade, at which he continued to work for the next fourteen years, in various places, throughout the Counties of Banff, Aberdeen, and Kincardine. During this latter period he read much, speaking on and discussing many subjects, not only at meetings of Literary and other Societies, but with his companions in the various work-shops in which he worked from week to week; and by this means first acquired a pretty wide and ready command of good and forcible language. The leading part which he at this time took in Mutual Improvement and Debating Societies, first directed his thoughts into literary channels; and even thus early, he introduced and read papers at meetings of these Societies, on such subjects as

"The Ballad Literature and Early Poetry of Scotland," "The Language and Dialects of the British Islands," "The Politicians of the Eighteenth Century," "The Laws of the Association of Ideas," "The Beautiful and the Sublime," and various other subjects of a like kind.

He now began to experience the want of the class of books which, with an extended craving for the treasures of literature, he desired most to peruse and examine, but these were not to be found in the libraries of such rural societies as he was connected with, nor in those of the Mechanics' Institutions of the period; though sometimes he managed to secure some of them for himself, out of his small earnings at his last; until, in time, he became the possessor of a very good selection of philosophical and other works. Many of the books which he now began to crave after were rare, and not in the market to buy, even if he had the means to pay for them. He discovered where many such works could be consulted long before he was in a position to secure access to them, and it was not until he removed to Aberdeen in 1864, that the sources of knowledge opened up to the humble country shoemaker, long determined to make up as much as possible, by industry, indomitable pluck and perseverance, for the defects of his early education. Here he still continued at his last, but always reading, cultivating his mind, and searching in every direction for original sources of information. In 1869 he opened a small stationery and news-agency shop, in Broad Street, Aberdeen, where he has since remained, and on the counter of which, during the intervals of business, he has written the three volumes of the *History of Civilisation in Scotland*, which have already appeared, and a considerable portion of the fourth and concluding volume, on which he is at present engaged, and which, during a recent visit, we have seen in an advanced state of preparation.

About 1871 he secured access to the Library of the University of Aberdeen, in consequence of which he said, with expressions of gratitude of the authorities of that institution—"I have been enabled to prosecute my special historical inquiries with comparative ease and advantage," ever since; and in his work he says that "this Library has been of great and indispensable use to me." He praises the Senatus and the Librarians for their



"uniform kindness and attention" in everything which could facilitate his researches.

Besides a comprehensive course of philosophy, including many works on the history of mental science in all its branches, Mackintosh read and studied works on theology, the history of religion, and the development of religious ideas and doctrines. He carefully read various standard works on the growth of language and universal grammar, on anthropology, ethnology, and geology, especially in relation to the origin, age, and primitive state of man. He has minutely examined the standard works on archæology, and the pre-historic ages of the world, particularly the pre-historic ages in Britain. At a comparatively early period of his life he began to read and to study the best works obtainable on method, criticism, and the principles of testing, estimating, and appreciating evidence in general, and historical evidence in particular. To these ends he read works on the classification of the sciences, laws, and the modes and rules of interpretation and exposition, as well as many works on history and general literature, for the purpose of attaining clear and comprehensive ideas of method. Thus his critical faculty was improved and developed.

He made long and careful investigations, touching the causes of human progress and civilisation, the results of which are partly embodied in the three published volumes of his work. On this great subject he holds that there has been, and still is, much premature generalisation, founded on insufficient data. Regarding his special subject, the History of Civilisation in Scotland, he has spared no labour or research in examining the original sources of information. For the early periods reliable authorities and records are few in number, and he soon discovered that the influences of circumstantial evidence must be very carefully and properly estimated in forming his conclusions. He has used the lives of the saints, the records of the religious houses, early charters, burgh laws and records, Acts of Parliament, and other national records and proceedings, as well as the chronicles and contemporary literature of different periods, and various other cognate sources of information.

Besides his History of Civilisation, he has written various articles for newspapers and periodicals, on such subjects as moral culture, nationality, the study of English literature, national

education, trades unions and strikes, and militarism. From his papers on the latter subject we may give a short quotation, which will at the same time serve as a specimen of his literary style, and of his thoughtful and robust treatment of the subject in hand. After pointing out that it is of little avail to expect a permanent peace, while the leading nations of Europe are armed to the teeth, and the people groaning under the oppressive burdens which militarism has entailed, he proceeds :—

“It has recently been argued that war is a concomitant of evolution, and an essential element of the grand conflictive process of the survival of the fittest. However much truth there may be in this theory when applied to the early stages of society, and to low degrees of social and political organisation, it constantly loses its force as civilisation advances, and as moral apprehension deepens, and human sympathy broadens. In the course of ages the higher feelings and sentiments in some degree supersede the lower, and the moral and intellectual power gradually modifies and subdues the brute instinct of cruelty, till at last the moral sense of the higher civilised nations revolts against cruelty. When, moreover, the industrial and commercial classes have greatly multiplied, and interests, aims, modes of energy, and enterprise have increased a hundredfold, then the theory which makes war still a requisite to further progress is strangely irrational and immoral, as it insists on continuing those predatory habits and wild passions which really characterise the early and barbarous communities, but which at the utmost are only incidental excrescences of the highest civilised nations. Upon an exhaustive examination it will be found that war is rather an effect of imperfect and defective social and political organisation in the constitution of the aggressive powers ; and instead of being favourable to the higher aims of moral progress and civilisation, it frequently destroys both, and almost always retards them.”

And again—

“The theory that one race has a right, on the ground of their military prowess, to trample upon another, may be very gratifying to national vanity, although it is extremely gross and immoral. Even when it is placed on a claim of superior culture and intellect, it is fairly open to discussion whether the higher nation has any right to force her government and modes of life on another community at the point of the bayonet. . . . But the theory that one race has a right to extinguish another is very convenient for aggressive governments. It feeds a nation's vanity to imagine themselves the greatest people upon the face of the

earth, so they can never be in the wrong, as the universe, or, at least, this planet, has been specially created for them and their interests."

Mr Mackintosh has always taken a warm and consistent interest in all movements calculated to promote the welfare of the Empire, and the good and happiness of the people at home and abroad, and, in a quiet and unobtrusive way, firmly but judiciously advocated whatever cause he deemed right and just, independently of all other considerations.

In answer to enquiries as to his habits and manner of life, he courteously replied—

"In my time I have done much hard work of various kinds. All my life I have been in the habit of rising every morning before five o'clock, summer and winter. And I have found, from long experience, that the early part of the day is the best time for literary work. I have often had to sacrifice many of the pleasures and small enjoyments which most men hold dear; but of this I do not complain. I have had a fair share of enjoyment throughout my life, notwithstanding all my toil. In searching after truth, and in investigating a subject, and especially in summing up results, the mind derives much pleasing feeling and satisfaction. At one time of my life I made politics, or political philosophy, a special study—theoretically and practically, and composed a treatise on the forms of Government, which, however, was never published."

He has been an industrious student of Continental history, and is well acquainted with the past and present history of Europe.

A.M.

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THE SEAFORTH HIGHLANDERS—FIRST OFFENCE IN THE RANKS.—In the first battalion of the Ross-shire Highlanders there were nearly 300 men from Lord Seaforth's estates in the Lewis. Several years elapsed before any of these men were charged with a crime deserving severe punishment. In 1799 a man was tried and punished. This so shocked his comrades that he was put out of their society as a degraded man who brought shame on his kindred. The unfortunate outcast felt his own degradation so much that he became unhappy and desperate; and Colonel Mackenzie, to save him from destruction, applied and got him sent to England, where his disgrace would be unknown and unnoticed. It happened as Colonel Mackenzie had expected, for he quite recovered his character. By the humane consideration of his commander, a man was thus saved from that ruin which a repetition of severity would have rendered inevitable.—*Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders.*

## BRUCE AND THE BROOCH OF LORN.

THE brooch was formerly an essential article in the wardrobe of a Highland gentleman or lady, and was of all sizes and degrees of elegance, from the plain ring with a tongue in it, to the brooch of complicated mechanism, ornamented with precious stones of every kind and every hue. Brooches were also valuable heirlooms, transmitted for generations in the same family, and in some instances bearing the names of as many as five successive couples, who were united in the marriage tie—an accumulation of domestic associations which amounted in some instances to a sacredness, which conferred upon a brooch the powers of an amulet, supposed to charm away diseases. Pennant gives a drawing of a brooch belonging to Campbell of Glenlyon, with the names of three Kings of Cologne—Caspar, Melchior, and Baltazar, and the word “consummatim.” In the middle ages the names of these royal personages, when written on slips of paper, were deemed a charm against epilepsy by the holders of the slips, and it is quite possible that similar virtues may have been ascribed to the Glenlyon brooch.

But without ascribing any such virtue to the brooch of Lorn, it has a peculiar value of its own. It and the Quigrich of St Fillan, are two of the oldest and best authenticated relics of the past, that have been transmitted to us, and round which cluster associations, secular and ecclesiastical, that to Scotchmen possess an undying interest.

Robert Bruce was crowned King at Scone in March 1306. Edward I. of England, who judged Scottish resistance to his usurpations as at an end with the death of the heroic Sir William Wallace, on hearing of this new start in favour of Scottish claims, despatched the Earl of Pembroke—one of his most approved generals, to nip it in the bud. Pembroke marched as far north as Perth, where he learned that the newly crowned Scottish King and his followers were within a short distance of him—in the wood of Methven. Comyn, whom Bruce slew at Dumfries, was married to Pembroke's sister, and he sent Bruce a personal challenge; and on the 18th of June Bruce drew up his little army in a field not far from the fair city. But the crafty Earl, on the plea that the day was too far advanced, declined the combat—or rather

postponed it till the following day. It was *a ruse*. That very evening, when Bruce and his followers were calmly awaiting, and resolutely preparing for the morrow's expected contest, Pembroke made a sudden, and unexpected attack, in which Bruce was worsted, and lost many of his best friends—either slain or taken prisoners. With the remnant of his little army he retreated to Athole and the wilds of Rannoch; where, for the next three months, they subsisted on such supplies as they could procure by their own efforts, or the liberality of their friends. There was a local tradition that Bruce, during his Rannoch wanderings, constructed a lacustrine fort not far from Dunalister; and it goes far to confirm the accuracy of this tradition, that when the ground—several years ago—was drained, the remains of wooden piles were found, supposed, not without reason, to be the remains of this ancient Royal retreat. But as the barren wilds of Rannoch could in those days afford but scanty supplies for an army, however small, Bruce, towards the beginning of autumn, was compelled to move south, and join his partisans in the Lennox and in Dumfries-shire. His route lay along the Alpine defiles, or passes, between Rannoch and the head of Loch-Tay. On arriving there he would have an easy passage up Glendochart, and southward by Glenfalloch. But here, as at Perth, the consequences of the slaughter of Comyn again faced the heroic King. John, Lord of Lorn, another of Comyn's relatives, and who watched Bruce's movements, met him with a large force, determined to intercept his further progress. The battle ground, about a mile from Tyndrum, still bears the name of Dailrigh—the king's field. Bruce and his men were compelled to retire before a much superior force—Bruce himself, with his bravest officers, taking up the rear in defence of his retreating followers; and it was on this occasion he is said to have lost the celebrated "Brooch of Lorn." A local tradition has it that he lost the brooch in a personal struggle with Macnab of Bovain, chief of the clan. This Finlay Macnab—a man of Herculean strength—laid hold of Bruce, and would have overpowered him, but that he contrived to withdraw himself from his grip, leaving his plaid and brooch behind. Another tradition has it that he lost it in a struggle with the Lord of Lorn himself, whom Bruce would have slain, but for the timely aid of three of Lorn's fol-

lowers, who came to the rescue, and dragged the King away by his plaid or mantle, which, with the brooch, remained in their possession. Barbour makes no mention of the brooch, but his account of the struggle in which he is supposed to have lost it is as follows :—

“ They abade till he was  
Entered in ane narrow place  
Betwixt a loch side and a brae,  
That was so strait, I understand,  
That he might not well turn his steed ;  
Then with a will till him they gaed,  
And ane him by the bridle hynt,  
But he reached him such a dint  
That arm and shoulder flew him frae.  
With that ane other 'gan him ta'  
By the leg ; and his hand 'gan shoot  
Between the stirrup and his foot.  
And when the King there felt his hand,  
In his stirrups stoutly 'gan he stand,  
And struck with spurs the steed in hy,  
And he launched forth deliverly,  
Sae that the tother failed feet,  
And not forthy his hand was yet  
Under the stirrup maugre his.  
The third with fall great high, with this  
Right till the brae side he gaed  
And leaped behind him on his steed.  
  
The King was then in full great press,  
Syne him that behind him was  
All maugre his will him 'gan he reach,  
Syne with the sword such dint he gave  
That he the head to the harns clave.  
In this wise him delivered he  
Of all these felon faes three.”

Whether Bruce lost his brooch in conflict with Macnab, or the Lord of Lorn, or the Macindrossers, as Barbour calls the men who made the dead set on him, as described in our quotation, we do not know. But in whatever way this relic of the Dalrigh fight came into the hands of the Lord of Lorn, tradition has uniformly maintained that it is a genuine memento of this encounter. We have tried to identify the locality where this royal struggle with the Macindrossers took place—knowing the district, as we do, intimately. Barbour says it was on the margin of a lake, with a steep brae to the right. There are places by

the side both of Lochan-nan-arm and Loch-Dochart that answer the description. But as Bruce and his followers would in all likelihood retreat by Crianlarich and Glenfalloch, rather than by the pass of Coirechaorach, to Balquidder, the probability is that this struggle with the Macindrossers took place on the margin of Lochan-nan-arm, though we cannot at this time of day determine the exact spot.

The ultimate ascendancy of Bruce proved the ruin of the Lorn potentates—styled successively of Argyle, Lorn, and Dunolly Castle—the picturesque ruins of the latter, in the vicinity of Oban, so well known to tourists. In 1647 the Castle of Dunolly was besieged by a detachment of General Leslie's troops, under Colonel Montgomery, but from its strong position, it resisted the efforts of the enemy. But Goalen Castle, another seat of the Macdougall's, fell into his hands, and was sacked and burned; and King Robert's brooch, which was part of the spoil, fell into the hands of Campbell of Inverawe, who took part in the siege—and in whose possession it remained for more than a century and a-half. In the early part of the last century, Macdougall of Dunolly lost his lands, because of partizanship in favour of the Old Pretender—Bruce's descendant—but they were again restored to him, on account of his loyalty to the Hanoverian Dynasty, in 1745. Amid all these family vicissitudes the "Brooch of Lorn" remained safe in the strong chest of Campbell of Inverawe, and unknown, we believe, to the Macdougalls themselves, who had quite lost sight of it. About the beginning of this century it passed into the hands of a cadet of the Inverawe family, who decided to sell it on behoof of his family; and in 1818 it was, for this purpose, handed over to Messrs Rundell & Bridge, of London, who advertised it for sale, at one thousand pounds. George IV. offered £500, which was declined, and in 1825 it was bought by General Campbell of Lochnell, who, by the hands of the Duke of Argyll, presented it at a public meeting to the original owner. Thus, after the lapse of centuries, it found its way back again to the representative of the old family, by whom we understand it is still preserved in Dunolly Castle. The writer of this paper had the privilege of seeing this interesting and remarkable relic, many years ago, at Taymouth Castle. The late Marquis of Breadalbane, then President of the Antiquarian



Society, had it in loan for some antiquarian purpose. It is a large brooch, rather more than three inches in diameter, with two concentric circles set with gems, and a raised circular stool in the centre, surmounted with a stone which looked very like a Cairngorm. We do not quite remember what the metal was, but to the best of our recollection it was gold. Altogether the brooch is a magnificent relic, as well as strong, and we are quite sure it took a good tug on the part of Bruce's assailant, whoever he was, to get possession of it.

Probably Sir Walter Scott had it in his mind when he penned the following lines :—

" Whence the brooch of burning gold,  
That clasps the chieftain's mantle fold,  
Wrought and chased with rare device,  
Studded fair with gems of price ;  
On the varied tartan beaming  
As through night's pale rainbow gleaming  
Fainter now, now seen afar,  
Fitful shines the morning star."

—LORD OF THE ISLES.

In February 1818, when workmen were clearing out the site of the old Dunfermline Abbey, they came accidentally upon a vault, which they inferred from its structure to belong to some distinguished individual. And as it corresponded in every way with the place in which, according to the old chroniclers, King Robert was buried, the discovery excited much interest, and the remains—to identify them as his—were examined with great care, by well known antiquarian experts. The result proved, to the entire satisfaction of all of them, that the remains were really those of the great founder of Scottish independence. In the inner vault lay a large body, shrouded in fine linen cloth interwoven with gold—probably the historical "toldour"—a corruption, according to Dr Jamison, of the French "toil d'or," or cloth of gold. When the headstone was removed, some of those who were present observed round the head what appeared to be a crown, but which suddenly vanished on exposure to the fresh air. In 1819, when the walls of the new church were sufficiently high to exclude a crowd, a second inspection was made, and the skeleton was again examined. The teeth in the under jaw were found to be quite entire ; but four or five of the upper jaw were wanting, and the jaw itself considerably fractured, no doubt in one of Bruce's early hazardous adventures. The skull, which was of the

ordinary size, was well formed. The breastbone was sawn longitudinally—an operation performed after his death—that, as he had willed, his heart might be extracted and deposited in the Holy Sepulchre. His faithful coadjutor, Sir James Douglas, perished in the attempt to carry out his Royal master's wishes, and it is believed the heart of Bruce was eventually deposited in the Abbey of Melrose. Altogether the skeleton indicated great physical strength, as we would expect, from the extraordinary feats of valour Bruce performed. All these circumstances, and the fact that the remains were found "in medio choro," where Fordun says Bruce was buried, make it certain that they were those of this heroic king. After satisfying themselves of this, the bones were carefully replaced in a coffin, into which liquid pitch was poured to protect them from further molestation, and they were then laid in their old resting place, where in all likelihood they will remain undisturbed till "the crack of doom." So much for the brooch and the body that wore it. A word or two more anent other interesting Brucian relics—his sword and helmet. The sword is a two-handed sword, the handle covered with black leather. Both are of steel, and have from age acquired a clear, blackish colour. They were presented by King David Bruce, to his cousin, Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, by whose descendants they have been preserved with the utmost care and veneration. Bruce died at the comparatively early age of fifty-five, of leprosy or scurvy, a disease contracted doubtless, during his early wanderings and severe privations, subsisting as he frequently did for months in succession on the scantiest and poorest fare. He lived, however, to see the grand aim of his heroic life accomplished, and to bequeath a memory ever dear to all true Scottish descendants of those—

"Wha hae with Wallace bled,  
Scots wham Bruce has aften led."

"O Thou who pour'd the patriotic tide  
That streamed through Wallace's undaunted heart ;  
Who dared to nobly stem tyrannic pride  
Or nobly die the second glorious part.  
The patriot's God peculiarly thou art,  
His friend, inspirer, guardian, and reward.  
O ! never, never Scotia's realm desert,  
But still the patriot and the patriot bard,  
In bright succession raise her ornament and guard."

Kenmore.

ALLAN SINCLAIR.

## THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

## XXI.

DR ARCHIBALD CAMERON OF LOCHIEL—(*Continued*).

IT has been repeated by several writers that Dr Cameron's visit in 1753 was in connection with the money left in the Highlands by Prince Charles, after the battle of Culloden, and mention of which has been already made; while others maintain that he came over in connection with another projected rising in favour of the Prince. For the latter there does not seem to be any foundation whatever. Respecting the former T. L. Kingston Oliphant, in *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, states distinctly that it was the French money "that lured" him back to Scotland; and, in an account which the same writer gives of what became of the money, immediately after the battle of Culloden, he says that £5500 was "kept by Captain Archibald Cameron." From this, as well as from several other known facts, it is quite clear that he held a commission in the Highland army, notwithstanding what has been said by others to the contrary. That he conducted himself at the last in a manner worthy of his race, is admitted by all. His fate was universally lamented; the friends and best-wishers of the government considered his execution, so long after the attainder, a most unnecessary and wanton act of barbarous cruelty, and the king himself when asked to sign his death-warrant, partook of the same feeling; for he expressed his unwillingness to sign it, and exclaimed, "Surely there has been too much blood spilt on this account already." His Majesty's advisers must have been a cruel, blood-thirsty set.

Sir Walter Scott says that his execution, so long after all hostilities were over, on his old attainder, "threw much reproach upon the government, and even upon the personal character of George II., as sullen, relentless, and unforgiving;" for the doctor was a man of mild and gentle disposition, and had uniformly exercised his skill as a medical man in behalf of the wounded of both armies.\* The government of France settled

\* *Tales of a Grandfather.*

a pension of 1200 livres per annum upon his widow, and 400 upon two of his sons, then in the French service, in addition to their regimental pay.

Though it is quite true that, at the place of execution, he did not hand any documents or papers to those about him, he did so to his wife, before he left the prison ; and a copy of what he "intended to have delivered to the Sheriff of Middlesex at the place of execution, but which he left in the hands of his wife for that end," has been found among the Gask papers, and is printed in the appendix to the *Jacobite Lairds*, as follows :—

On the first slip of paper :—

TOWER, 5th June 1753.

Being denied the use of pen, ink, and paper, except in the presence of one or more officers (who always took away the paper from me when I began to write my complaints), and not even allowed the use of a knife, with which I might cut a poor blunted pencil, that had escaped the diligence of my searchers, I have notwithstanding, as I could find opportunity, attempted to set down on some slips of paper, in as legible characters as I was able, what I would have my country satisfied of, with regard to myself and the cause in which I am now going to lay down my life.

As to my religion, I thank God I die a member, though unworthy, of that church in whose communion I have always lived, the Episcopal Church of Scotland, as by law established before the most unnatural rebellion began in 1688, which for the sins of these nations hath continued to this day ; and I firmly trust to find, at the most awful and impartial tribunal of the Almighty King of kings, through the merits of my blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that mercy (though undeserved) to my immortal part which is here denied to my earthly by an usurper and his factions, though it be well known I have been the instrument in preventing the ruin and destruction of many of my poor deluded countrymen who were in their service, as I shall make appear before I have done, if opportunities of writing fail me not.

On the second slip of paper :—

In order to convince the world of the uprightness of my intentions while in the Prince of Wales's army, as well as of the cruelty, injustice, and ingratitude of my murderers, I think it my duty in this place to take notice how much better usage I might have expected of my country, if humanity and good nature were now looked upon with the same eyes as in the times of our brave and generous ancestors ; but I'm sorry to observe that our present men in power are so far sunk below the noble spirit of the ancient Britons, as hardly at this day to be distinguished from the very basest of mankind. Nor could the present possessor of the throne of our injured sovereign, if he looked on himself as the father and natural prince of this country, suffer the life of one to be taken away who has saved the lives and effects of above 300 persons in Scotland, who were firmly attached to him and his party ; but it seems it is now made a crime to save the lives of Scotsmen. As neither the time nor the poor materials I have for writing will allow me to descend to a particular enumeration of all the services I have done to the friends of the Usurper, I shall, therefore, only mention a few of the most known and such as can be well attested. In July 1745,

soon after the setting up of the Royal Standard, before our small army had reached Corayarick, it was moved by some of the chiefs to apply to the Prince for a strong detachment of clans to distress Campbell of Invera's house and tenants in that neighbourhood, which my brother Lochiel and I so successfully opposed, by representing to our generous leader (who was always an enemy to oppression), that such proceeding could be no way useful to his undertaking, that the motion was entirely laid aside, to the no small mortification of the proposer. My brother and I likewise prevented another such design against Breadalbane, to the great satisfaction of our dear Prince. And on our return from Glasgow

ARCHIBALD CAMERON.

On a third slip of paper :—\*

My brother and I did services to the town of Glasgow, of which the principal gentry in the neighbourhood were then, and are to this day sensible, if they durst own the truth ; but that might be construed disaffection to a Government founded on and supported by lies and falsehood. On our march to Stirling, I myself (though I am like to meet with a Hanoverian reward for it) hindered the whole town of Kirkintulloch from being destroyed and all its inhabitants put to the sword by my brother's men, who were justly incensed against it for the inhuman murder of two of Lady Lochiel's servants but two months before.

Here was a sufficient pretence for vengeance, had I been inclined to cruelty, but I thank God nothing was ever further from my nature, though I may have been otherwise represented. Mr Campbell of Shawfield likewise owes me some favours done to himself and family, which at least deserve some return in my behalf ; and Lady Campbell of Lochnell, now in London, can, if she pleases, vouch for the truth of some of the above facts.

ARCHIBALD CAMERON.

On a fourth slip of paper :—

June 6th, 1753.

I thank kind Providence I had the happiness to be early educated in the principles of Christian loyalty, which as I grew in years inspired me with an utter abhorrence of rebellion and usurpation, though ever so successful ; and when I arrived at man's estate I had the joint testimony of religion and reason to confirm me in the truth of my first principles. As soon, therefore, as the Royal youth had set up the king his father's standard, I immediately, as in duty bound, repaired to it, and I had the honour from that time to be always constantly about his person till November 1748, excepting the short time his Royal Highness was in the Western Isles after the affair of Culloden. I became more and more captivated with his amiable and princely virtues, which are indeed in every instance so eminently great as I want words to describe. I can further affirm (and my present situation and that of my dear prince can leave no room to suspect me of flattery), that, as I have been his companion in the lowest degrees of adversity ever prince was reduced to, so have I beheld him too, as it were, on the highest pinnacle of glory, amidst the continual applauses, and, I had almost said, adorations of the most brilliant court in Europe, yet he was always the same, ever affable and courteous, giving constant proofs of his great humanity and of his love for his friends and his country. What great good to these nations might not

\* Note by Gask. "Mr Cameron's custom was, when interrupted, to subscribe his name, in order (as he told his wife) to authenticate what he had written, lest he should not have another opportunity of adding anything further."

be expected from such a prince, were he in possession of the throne of his ancestors ! And as to his courage, none that have heard of his glorious attempt in 1745, I should think, can call it in question. I cannot pass by in silence that most horrid calumny raised by the rebels under the command of the inhuman son of the Elector of Hanover, which served as an excuse for unparalleled butchery, committed by his orders, in cold blood after the unhappy affair of Culloden, viz., that we had orders to give no quarter ; which if true must have come to my knowledge, who had the honour to serve my ever dear master in the quality of one of his aide-de-camps. And I hereby declare I never heard of such orders. The above is truth.

ARCHIBALD CAMERON.

I likewise declare, on the word of a dying man, that the last time I had the honour to see his Royal Highness, Charles Prince of Wales, he told me from his own mouth, and bid me assure his friends from him, that he was a member of the Church of England.

ARCHIBALD CAMERON.

On a fifth slip of paper :—

To cover the cruelty of murdering me at this distance of time from the passing of the unjust Attainder, I am accused of being deeply engaged in a new plot against this Government (which if I was, neither the fear of the worst death their malice could invent, nor the blustering and noisy threatenings of the tumultuous council, nor much less their flattering promises could extort any discovery of it from me), yet not so much as one evidence was ever produced to make good the charge. But it is my business to submit, since God in His all wise providence thinks fit to suffer it to be so. And I the more cheerfully resign my life as it is taken away for doing my duty to God, my king, and my country ; nor is there anything in this world I could so much wish to have it prolonged for, as to have another opportunity to employ the remainder of it in the same glorious cause.

ARCHIBALD CAMERON.

I thank God I was not in the least daunted at hearing the bloody sentence which my unrighteous judge pronounced with a seeming insensibility till he came to the words, "*But not till you are dead,*" before which he made a pause, and uttering them with a particular emphasis, stared me in the face, to observe, I suppose, if I was as much frightened at them as he perhaps would have been in my place. As to the guilt he said I had to answer for, as having been instrumental in the loss of so many lives, let him and his constituents see to it that at their hands, not at mine, will all the blood that had been shed on that account be required. God of His infinite mercy grant they may prevent the punishment that hangs over their guilty heads, by a sincere repentance and speedy return to their duty.

I pray God to hasten the restoration of the Royal Family, without which these miserably divided nations can never enjoy peace and happiness, and that it may please him to preserve the King, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York, from the power and malice of their enemies, to prosper and reward all my friends and benefactors, and to forgive all my enemies, murderers, and false accusers, from the Elector of Hanover and his bloody son, down to Samuel Cameron the basest of their spies, as I freely do from the bottom of my heart.

ARCHIBALD CAMERON.

I am now ready to be offered ; I have fought a good fight, all glory be to God.

The following is added, at the foot, by his widow :—"The above is a faithful transcript of what my husband left with me as his dying sentiments." A monument was erected to Dr

Cameron, by her Majesty's permission, in 1846, in the Chapel Royal, Savoy, by his representative, the late Charles Hay Cameron, for several years Legal Member of the Supreme Council of India.

Boswell, in the *Life of Dr Johnson*, relates the following incident:—Johnson used to be a pretty frequent visitor at the house of Richardson, the author of *Clarissa*. Hogarth one day, soon after the execution of Dr Cameron, came to see Richardson, and, being a warm partisan of George II., he observed to Richardson, that certainly there must have been some very unfavourable circumstances lately discovered in Dr Cameron's case, which had induced the king to approve of his execution for rebellion, so long after it was committed, as this had the appearance of putting the man to death in cold blood, and "was very unlike his Majesty's usual clemency." While Hogarth was talking he perceived a person standing at a window in the room, shaking his head, and rolling himself about in a strange and ridiculous manner. He concluded that this person was some idiot whom his relations had placed under the care of Richardson. To his great surprise, however, this figure stalked forward to where he and Mr Richardson were sitting, and all at once took up the argument and burst out into invective against George II., as one who, upon all occasions, was unrelenting and barbarous, mentioning several instances, particularly that, when an officer of high rank had been acquitted by court-martial, George had with his own hand struck his name off the list. In short, the peculiar figure displayed such a power of eloquence, that Hogarth looked at him with astonishment, and actually imagined that this idiot had been at the moment inspired. Dr Johnson, for it was he, and Hogarth were not introduced to each other on this occasion. To this story, Boswell adds the following footnote:—"Impartial posterity may perhaps be as little inclined as Dr Johnson was to justify the uncommon rigour exercised in the case of Dr Archibald Cameron. He was an amiable and truly honest man, and his offence was owing to a generous, though mistaken principle of duty. Being obliged, after 1746, to give up his profession as a physician and to go into foreign parts, he was honoured with the rank of colonel both in the French and Spanish service."



Dr Archibald Cameron married Jean, daughter of Archibald Cameron of Dungallon, with issue—

1. John, a colonel in the French service.

2. Donald, a partner in the banking house of Harley, Cameron & Son, George Street, Mansion House, London. He resided for several years at Valentine, Essex, of which county he was Sheriff in 1791. He married Mary Guy, the daughter of a noted Jacobite, with issue—(1) Charles, who carried on the male representation of the family, and of whom presently, with other members of his family ; (2) a daughter, who died unmarried.

3. Margaret, who married Captain Donald Cameron of Strone, with issue—a son, Captain Donald Cameron, an officer in the 21st Scots Fusilier Guards, who fought throughout the whole of the Peninsular campaign. He married Anne, daughter of Duncan Campbell, factor for Maclean of Ardgour, widow of Allan Cameron, Inverscadale, well known among his countrymen as “Alein Mac Sheumais,” with issue—(1) Donald, late a lieutenant in the Bombay Fusiliers, since retired, and emigrated to Australia, where he resides, unmarried ; (2) Colin John Macdonald Campbell, late captain in the 24th Bombay Native Infantry, who died, in 1884, at Nairn, unmarried ; (3) Charles, a squatter, Netley, Wentworth, Australia, unmarried ; and (4) Margaret Anne, who married the Rev. Mr Beaumont, Greenwich, without surviving issue.

Dr Cameron had four other children, of whom we have been unable to secure any trace. He was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

II. JOHN CAMERON, a colonel in the army, who married Elizabeth, daughter of the Honourable George Hamilton (sixth son of James, sixth, and brother of James seventh, Earl of Abercorn), M.P. for Wells, and Deputy-Cofferer for the Prince of Wales, by his wife, Bridget, daughter and heir of Colonel William Coward, Wells, county of Somerset. In Douglas's *Peerage*, where the marriage is recorded, Colonel Cameron is described as “a general in the French service.” He predeceased his wife, who, as her second husband, married the Comte de Fari.

By his wife Colonel Cameron had issue—

1. John.

2. Another son, who died unmarried.

## 3. Peggy, who died unmarried.

On his death Colonel Cameron was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

III. JOHN CAMERON, a captain in the army, who died unmarried, when the male representation devolved upon his cousin-german,

IV. CHARLES CAMERON, eldest son of Donald, second son of Dr Archibald Cameron, Civil Commissioner of Malta, and, afterwards, on the 22nd of December 1803, appointed Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Bahama Islands. He married in 1789, Lady Margaret Hay (who died in 1832), daughter of James, fourteenth Earl of Erroll, with issue—

## 1. Charles Hay.

## 2. Donald, who died young.

3. Isabella Hay, who married General Darling, Lieutenant-Governor of Tobago, with issue—several sons, all of whom died without surviving issue, except Sir Charles Darling, K.C.B., Governor of Victoria, who married three times, leaving issue—Charles, a lieutenant in the Royal Engineers, and several other sons; also a daughter, who married Colonel Tyler, R.A.

4. Mary Hay, who, on the 7th of May 1814, married Admiral the Hon. Philip Wodehouse (born on the 16th of July 1773, and died on the 21st of January 1838), with issue—(1) Edwin, born in 1817, C.B., and A.D.C. to the Queen; a colonel in the Royal Artillery, and a Knight of the Legion of Honour, who, on the 16th of October 1845, married Catharine, only daughter of the late Captain John Street. Colonel Edwin Wodehouse died on the 6th of October 1870, leaving issue—(a) Edwin Frederick, born on the 20th of February 1851, now a captain in the Royal Artillery, married with issue; (b) Catherine Mary Phillipa, who, on the 27th of June 1877, married James Andrew Thomas Bruce, commander, Royal Navy, youngest son of Sir Henry Bruce, Baronet of Dowanhill, County of Londonderry; and (c) Alice Katharine, who, on the 9th of December 1875, married James M. Carr Lloyd, only son of Colonel Carr Lloyd of Lancing Manor, Sussex. (2) Constantine Griffith, who, born on the 21st of March 1847, married, on the 7th of April 1868, Fanny Isabella, eldest daughter of the Rev. Edward H. Sawbridge, rector of Thelneytham, Suffolk. (3) Phillip Cameron,

chaplain at Hampton Court Palace, born on the 22nd of January 1837, and married, on the 12th of April 1866, Mary, second daughter of the Rev. Edward H. Sawbridge, of East Haddon Hall, county of Northampton. Admiral Philip Wodehouse and Mary Hay Cameron had also four daughters—Margaret, Agnes, Jane, and Eleanor Mary, all of whom died unmarried. (4) Margaret Hay, who died unmarried.

Charles Cameron was succeeded as representative of the family by his only surviving son,

V. CHARLES HAY CAMERON, Legal Member of the Supreme Council of India. In 1838, he married Julia Margaret Pattle, with issue—

1. Eugene Hay.

2. Ewen Hay, of St Regulus, Ceylon, who married Annie, daughter of Edward Chinnery, M.D., Lymington, Hants, with issue—(1) Ewen Hay ; (2) Julia Hay.

3. Hardinge Hay, of her Majesty's Civil Service, Ceylon. He married Katharine Ann, daughter of the Rev. Dr Norman Macleod. She died without issue.

4. Charles Hay, still unmarried.

5. Henry Herschell Hay, still unmarried.

6. Julia Hay, who married Charles Loyd Norman, Bromley Common, Kent, with issue—six children.

Charles Hay Cameron was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

VI. EUGENE HAY CAMERON, major, Royal Artillery, who married Caroline Catherine, daughter of John Dennis Browne, sometime M.P. for County Mayo, with issue—

1, Archibald Dennis Hay. 2, Donald Hay.

3, Caroline Beatrice. 4, Caroline Margaret Hay.

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THE MACLEODS.—The *History of the Camerons* having now been issued in book form, it is not intended to continue the history of the various branches of that clan in the *Celtic Magazine* any further ; but the *History of the Macleods*, by the Editor, will be commenced on an early date. It is hoped that all those possessing information will communicate with Mr Mackenzie, so as to enable him to make the work as complete and interesting as possible. He has been already kindly promised access by Macleod of Macleod to the Macleod Charter Chest, and others have also kindly volunteered their aid.

## THE LEGEND OF CUMYN'S CAIRN.

ON the shore of Loch Loch, in Athole, there stands a large cairn of stones, which is known as Cumyn's Cairn. This spot is regarded with superstitious dread by the people around, who tell the following legend concerning it.

In the thirteenth century there were two great proprietors in Athole, Cumyn, Earl of Badenoch, and Mackintosh of Tirinie. The first of these was a grasping and avaricious man, and was constantly engaged in feuds with his neighbours. Mackintosh was an entirely different man, and as he kept his people at peace, his lands were naturally more prolific and his cattle more numerous than those of the warlike Earl, who, if he at any time brought home a heavy *creach* from one of his forays, was very likely despoiled of it next day. Cumyn was thus continually envious of Mackintosh's prosperity, and the handsome present of twelve cows and a bull, which the latter sent him on his wedding, only served to arouse his cupidity the more. He at last resolved to possess himself of his neighbour's whole goods, and at the same time to gratify his malice by putting Mackintosh and all his people to death. In furtherance of this ungrateful resolution, he set out from Blair Castle one night with a band of men, and quietly surrounded Tomafour Castle, where Mackintosh resided. The watchmen, not expecting an invasion, were easily overcome, and the marauders then rushed into the castle and slew everyone they found in it. It is said that Cumyn himself plunged his dirk into Mackintosh's heart as he sprang up to grapple with his midnight assailant. After this dreadful deed, the murderers decamped with everything they could lay hands upon, and left the blood-stained castle without attempting to hide the dead bodies or efface the marks of slaughter.

Near Tomafour there lived an old man who held his little bit of land from Mackintosh, and, under one of those curious leases so common in the olden time, all the rent he had to pay was a bonnet yearly. It happened that the day after the massacre above described was this man's rent-day, and he accordingly started off for the castle as usual with his bonnet.

Upon getting there he was astonished at the silence which brooded over the place, and its apparently deserted state. He entered the doorway, and was horrified to come upon the body of one of the sentinels. The terrible truth now began to dawn upon him, and a further search confirmed his fears. He wandered distractedly through the lonely rooms, looking for some sign of life, but only to be confronted at every threshold by the gory remains of some one of the household. All at once he fancied he heard a faint cry. He listened intently for a few moments, and again the cry was repeated, this time evidently proceeding from a chamber he had not yet entered. On going into this room he found the corpses of the murdered chieftain and his wife stretched upon their bed, whilst the cry he had heard appeared to come from underneath a heap of bedclothes which the assassins had rudely torn from the bed and left upon the floor. The removal of this disclosed a cradle, containing Mackintosh's infant son, who had thus been miraculously preserved, though well-nigh smothered by the bedclothes. The old clansman seized the child, and wrapping it in his plaid, he left the ill-fated house and betook himself to Campbell of Achinbreck, the nearest surviving relative of the little orphan. This chieftain listened to the old man's tale with horror, and immediately adopted the child as his own. The Cumyns were too powerful to be interfered with, and the boy grew up in ignorance of his birth and of the murder of his family. His deliverer remained at Achinbreck, and took great pains to instruct his young protégé in the use of the bow, and other warlike accomplishments.

The lad soon became an excellent shot, and one day, after he had hit a small mark from a long distance several times in succession, the old man could keep his secret no longer, and exclaimed, in a significant tone, "The gray breast of the man that killed your father is broader than that target!" This remark aroused the lad's curiosity to the utmost, and he had no peace until he had drawn out the whole story. The recital so enraged him that he bitterly reproached his guardian for not telling it to him before.

His only thought now was of revenge upon his father's murderer. He at once left Achinbreck, and went to Tomafour, where he gathered a band of his clansmen, delighted beyond

measure at the appearance of one whom they had considered dead, and ready to lay down their lives at any moment in his cause. With these trusty adherents he went to Blair, and challenged Cumyn to come forth with his men and try a conflict in the open field. The Earl was nothing loth, and a fierce battle soon commenced. The Mackintoshes saluted their adversaries with a shower of arrows, which so thinned their ranks that the issue of the conflict was not long doubtful. The Cumyns were defeated with great slaughter, and the Earl himself took to flight, closely followed by young Tirinie. At length Cumyn reached the brink of Loch Loch, and took a deep draught of the water. Looking back he saw the avenger of blood coming up fast, and raised his hand to wipe the perspiration from his brow before renewing his flight. Mackintosh, observing the action, let fly an arrow with such unerring aim that it pinned Cumyn's hand to his forehead, killing him instantly.

The Earl was buried where he fell, with the arrow still in his brain, and a cairn was raised to mark the spot, which bears his name to this day. Towering above the cairn is the huge Ben-y-gloe, and the tradition of the witch upon the mountain-top, and the fate of the Earl of Badenoch at the cairn, combine to render the place uncanny, and scare the wayfarer from approaching it too closely after the shades of night begin to fall. 'H. R. M.

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HIGHLAND DEVOTION TO SUPERIORS.—In one of the battles of the American war, the 76th Regiment of Highlanders distinguished itself. At the moment Lord Cornwallis was giving the orders to charge, a Highland soldier rushed forward and placed himself in front of his officer, Lieutenant Simon Macdonald of Morar, afterwards Major of the 92nd Regiment. Lieutenant Macdonald having asked what brought him there, the soldier answered, "You know, that when I engaged to be a soldier, I promised to be faithful to the king and to you. The French are coming, and while I stand here, neither bullet nor bayonet shall touch you, except through my body."

A HIGHLANDER'S RECOMPENSE FOR DESERTION.—A soldier of the 98th Argyleshire Highlanders deserted, and emigrated to America, where he settled. Several years after his desertion, a letter was received from him, with a sum of money for the purpose of procuring one or two men to supply his place in the regiment, as the only recompense he could make for "breaking his oath to his God, and his allegiance to his King, which preyed on his conscience in such a manner, that he had no rest night nor day."—*Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders.*

‘TAILLEAR DUBH NA TUAIGHE’—A CAMERON  
WARRIOR.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR MALCOLM CAMPBELL TAYLOR, D.D.,  
OF THE EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.

II.

COMING to the second generation from Ewen Alanson, we find him succeeded by his grandson, Ewen Beg—Ewen Macdonald MacEwen—who died before 2nd March, 1554.† Gregory affects to doubt whether he was not executed under a commission given to Huntly,‡ whereas the “Introduction” attributes his death to misadventure, when incarcerated at the instance of Macdougall of Dunolly, in Inchconnel Castle—a statement which seems, so far, to be confirmed by the fact, that Dunolly is himself found to be in ward, two years later on, at the instance of Argyll.§ Ewen Beg was in turn succeeded by his brother, Donald—Donald MacDonald MacEwen—also a grandson of Ewen Alanson, so that we are still in the second generation from that Chief. Gregory asserts that this Donald was put to death by some of his own kinsmen,|| but in this assertion, the references on which he founded had quite misled him. One of them, that by which he was mainly guided, is an entry in the “Register of Privy Council,” of date 26th Feb. 1577,\* which makes mention of “letters raised by the brothers and other friends of the late Donald Dow MacKewin, by which Allister and Johnne were denounced for the slaughter of the late Donald.” The Donald of this entry was, no doubt, a Cameron of some note, but certainly not the chief of whom Gregory was thinking; for, apart from several other reasons, the Chief was not Donald Dow MacEwen, but Donald Dow MacDonald. Even Gregory has, in this instance, succumbed to the difficulty of distinguishing the parties, and, as his statement is the sole ground of belief that the Chief, Donald, was murdered by his own kinsmen, the murder itself

† *Reg. of Privy Seal*, xxvi., fol. 57.

‡ p. 183.

§ *Coll. de Rebus Albanicis*, 89-90 (Iona Club). In a note, the Editor finds a State reason for this; but a prudent device, on the Earl's part, to secure the peace of Lorn and Lochaber may have had something to do with it.

|| P. 202.

\* Vol. ii. 597.



may now be dismissed as unworthy of credit.\* The date of his death is approximately fixed by the gift to George, Earl of Huntly "of the nonentries, mailis fermis, profitis and dewitties of all, and sindrie the lands of Loch-Zeild," &c. . . . "sen ye deceis of umquhile Donald Dow"†—dated 21st April, 1567. He thus died about thirteen years after his brother, Ewen Beg, and twenty years after the execution of his grandfather, Ewen Alanson. The record of his death is important as fixing the date of the birth of his successor, the *infant son* of his younger brother, John—Allan MacIanduy,‡ as he is called in the records, and as being otherwise a much needed landmark. With him we come to the third generation from Ewen Alanson, and to one of the most complicated periods in Cameron history. Allan's natural guardians were now—say, from 1567, onwards—not his uncles, nor yet his grand-uncles, strictly so, for these, perhaps with one exception, were dead, but his half-grand-uncles, viz.: Donald and John, sons of Ewen Alanson, by Marjory Mackintosh. All accounts agree that there was an attempt on their part to usurp the chieftainship, together with the family estates. We need not suppose, that a supreme regard for the precision of the feudal law of succession had penetrated to Lochaber, and now inspired the Camerons, although the contentions and bloodshed that ensued turned on the point of lineage and blood. Both parties to the quarrel were of the blood of Ewen Alanson; but they were divided thus, that on the one side was Allan, his descendant by a daughter of the friendly house of Lochalsh, while on the other side were his descendants by Marjory Mackintosh, with whose race, unfortunately, there had been an inveterate and bloody feud. At this juncture the cause of the minor, Allan, came to be represented, both in counsel and in arms, by his relative, Donald MacEwen Beg, described as the illegitimate son of that Ewen Beg who met his death at Inchconnell. There was this to range him on the same side, that he was of the blood of Ewen Alanson by his first marriage. We have thus the survivors of the first

\* The "Introduction" knows nothing of it.

† *Reg. of Privy Seal*, xxxvi. fol. 33.

‡ *Celtic Magazine* 1883, p. 268. *Gregory*, p. 203, had satisfactorily disproved the statement of the "Introduction to the Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron" that Donald was succeeded by his son, Allan.

generation from Ewen Alanson arrayed against certain members of the third generation; or otherwise, the lineage of Lochiel-Lochalsh against that of Lochiel-Mackintosh.

The author of the "Introduction" passes lightly, over the internecine struggle that followed. It is plain that he was very inadequately informed, and only grudgingly accords his due meed of honour to the leader who, through it all, bore the burden of the young Chief's cause. We are told by him that there was intolerable oppression by the tutors, and that, in consequence, Donald MacEwen Beg was recalled from among the Grants; that there ensued a kind of civil war, during which Mackintosh marched into the Cameron country, and imposed terms which the tutors could not resist; and that then there was talk of a counter invasion of Mackintosh territory, which may, or may not, have come off.\* The tradition of Lochaber went considerably further. By the aid of their relative, Mackintosh, and their own immediate followers, the tutors aimed at a complete control of their own tribe. They admitted the Mackintoshes, in force, into the country, and allowed them to take up, and occupy, a fortified position somewhere near Moy, on the verge of the lands that had been long in debate between the two Clans. This was, ostensibly, in pledge of the fulfilment of certain stipulations, to which the Camerons had been unwillingly and unwittingly bound by the tutors. The result was a rising of the majority of the Camerons, against a minority of the same Clan supported by a body of Mackintoshes, who had got firm hold on a parcel of territory, which they, too, had long regarded as by right their own. Nor was it till after numerous skirmishes, and several bloody encounters on a large scale, which are said to have drawn out the full strength of the Mackintoshes, that these were beat back, and the Cameron minority quelled. Two of these conflicts have left an indelible impression on the tradition of that country, and were fought, the one at Moy, and the other at Mucomer. Here again, contemporary records fairly support the tradition of Lochaber, for they show that the strife must have lasted for a considerable time, as they also show when it practically terminated. It may have begun any time after 1566, to which year we may refer the death of the Chief, Donald Dow

\* *Author's Introduction to the Memoirs of Sir Ewan Cameron*, p. 37-8.

MacDonald MacEwen; the birth of Allan MacIanduy, his successor, and the appointment of tutors; but we must allow some years to elapse, for the tyranny and designs of the tutors to take effect. It looks, indeed, as if we could actually determine the year when these came to a height and were frustrated, viz., 1576, *i.e.*, there was an interval of ten years, or nearly as many, during which these tutors were in power; for in 1576, as may be inferred from the record, a prominent member of the Clan, Donald MacEwen, was put to death.\* If we may hold with the author of the "Introduction" that the name of one of the tutors was Donald—and we have seen that he was probably correct in that particular—then, this Donald MacEwen of the records was none other than the tutor, Donald, the son of Ewen Alanson, by Marjory Mackintosh.† We also know who his slayers were, for the event had excited the interest of the Earls of Argyll and Athole—themselves, a short time before, at feud—and in connection with the action of these magnates, the whole story can be unravelled in the records of Privy Council. The perpetrators of the slaughter were Allastir Dow MacAllan MacIain "of Camroun, and John Cam, his broder of surnawm,"‡ whom we may identify with "Allastir Dow MacAllane Vc. Eane of Culchinny," and "Johnne Mör MacAllane Vc. Eane of Caldardy," of a considerably later entry.§ The same passage in the records which misled Gregory seems also to have misled the author of the "Introduction,"¶ for whereas the former found in it the murder of a Chief, which probably never happened, the latter evidently found in it, and with a better excuse and greater show of probability, the assassination of Donald MacEwen Beg, for which also there seems to be no foundation, except in this mis-

\* *Reg. Privy Council* vol. ii., 597.

† The "Introduction" may or may not be right in styling him Donald MacEwen of Eracht, for it is possible that he was succeeded in Eracht by Mac Vc. Ewen, the progenitor of that family, since so highly distinguished.

‡ *Reg. of Privy Council*, vol. ii., p. 587-8, &c. In the *Reg.* it is Allaster Dow MacAllane MacEwin—but we should read as above, for he appears by his *father's* brother, "Ewen MacAne," captain of Inverlochy.

§ *Reg. of Privy Council*, vol. v., p. 498 (year 1598).

¶ That the author was largely guided by these records appears from his preface: "I have written to Bishop Keith and to Macfarlane to search the records for what they can find, relating either to Sir Ewen or his predecessors. I myself have searched those of the Privy Council."—Preface, xliiii-iv.

take. Closely scanned, the passage itself shows, that as it does not record the death of Donald MacDonald MacEwen, the Chief, so neither does it register the fate of Donald MacEwen Beg ; \* for it speaks of the *brothers* of the dead man—a phrase which cannot apply to Donald MacEwen Beg, who had no brother. Then, the records clearly indicate that the perpetrators of the deed, Allaster Dow and John Cam, were befriended by Argyll, who succeeded in getting them out of Athole's hands ; and that they were the partizans, and not the adversaries, of Donald MacEwen Beg.† Besides, the "Introduction" states that Allan, the young Chief, was about seventeen years of age when he returned to Lochaber, and that it was after his return that "he gave way to the death" of Donald MacEwen Beg, whereas at the death of this other personage, Allan would be about ten years old.

This point, however, does not depend on minute criticism. Allan MacIanduy had, in the meantime, been confided to the care of his relative, Mr John Cameron, the minister of Dunoon and Kilmun, in Cowal.‡ Thither, also, we find Donald MacEwen Beg following him about this time—a fact which was unknown to the author of the "Introduction." The Earls of Argyll and Athole having made up their feud, bonds of assurance and friendship were signed in favour of each other, by these lords, at Dunoon and Dunkeld, respectively. That which was subscribed by Argyll bears date : "at Dunnone, the xx day of Julii, the year of God, 1576 years," and is attested "*before thir witnesses, Donald MacEwen Vc Oneill, in Lochaber,*" and others.§ It may be affirmed, that there was no prominent member of the Clan Cameron to whom that designation applied, at the time, except Donald MacEwen Beg. That was in July 1576, six months, it is true, before the date of the entry which

\* "Holyrood, 1576/7, 24th Feb. Mr Andro Abercromby, servitor of Johnne Earl of Athole, presented in his master's name Allistar Dow MacAllane MacEwin Camroun and Johnne Cam his brother, and also produced letters raised by the brothers and other friends of the late Donald Dow MacKewin, by which the said Allistar and Johnne were denounced for the slaughter of the said Donald."—*Reg. of Privy Council*, vol. ii., 579.

† *Reg. of Privy Council*, vol. ii., pp. 587, 588, 597, 660, 663.

‡ *Author's Introduction to the Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel*, p. 37.

§ It was not unusual for the Lowland scribe to write the Gaelic for MacDonald in this way, e.g., one out of many, Angus MacDonald, of Dunyveg, appears as "Angus Mack Oneill."—*History of King James the Sixth*, pp. 217-330.

records the slaughter of Donald MacKewin (26th Feb., 1577). But his slayers had been imprisoned by Athole "certain months syne," as they complained, before the beginning of February, 1577; and they had been at the horn before they had been caught and imprisoned by Athole†—facts which pretty well exhaust the interval of six months, and point to the conclusion, not that Donald MacEwen Beg, who witnessed Argyll's bond at Dunoon in the previous July, had hurried back to Lochaber, and was put to death as soon as he arrived; but that on the slaughter of the one tutor, Donald MacKewin, at Inverlochy, and the escape of the other, he had proceeded to Dunoon, where young Lochiel and the Earl of Argyll were to be found. The author of the "Introduction" relates that when the first tutor had been put to death, it was by Donald MacEwen Beg's intercession with Argyll, that the second tutor, John of Kinlochiel, was brought to execution. One other document strengthens this view if, indeed, it does not decide the point. A bond of maintenance, by Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg to Ninian Bannatyne of Kames (in Bute, and separated from Cowal by the Kyles of Bute), was subscribed on the 16th May, 1577, "before these witnesses, Donald Cameron of Lochaber," and others. That, at least, was posterior to the slaughter of "Donald MacKewin." It cannot be said, for certain, that the "Donald Cameron of Lochaber," who witnessed this deed at Kames in May, 1577, was identical with "Donald MacEwen Vc. Concill in Lochaber," who witnessed a similar deed, at Dunoon, in July of the previous year, but there is a high degree of probability that he was. On the one hand, there is no clue to any other to whom the designation can be applied; while, on the other hand, "Donald Cameron of Lochaber" has just that touch of indefiniteness, and importance of position in the Clan, at the time, that would accurately describe him. The probability is that Donald MacEwen Beg, had again visited Dunoon and Cowal, where young Allan still resided, on affairs connected with the Clan. Now, although the "Introduction" makes no allusion to his presence in Cowal, we have traced him thither, apparently in the course of two successive summers, those, viz., of 1576 and 1577. And as Allan did not return from Dunoon till he was about 17 years of age, *i.e.*, till say

† *Reg. of Privy Council*, vol. ii. 537-8.

1583, it is probable that Donald MacEwen Beg was in that neighbourhood on other occasions, of which no record exists. Of him, however, under that name, no reminiscence has been preserved to our time, in Cowal; there nothing is known of him any more than on Speyside, while, on the other hand, the memory of Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe or Donald Dubh of Lochiel, has been warmly cherished by his descendants in Cowal, down to the present generation. Of his ultimate escape from Lochaber, nothing need be said for the present. So far, then, the case stands thus. Beyond Lochaber, there are two localities, and only two, in which a steadfast, living tradition regarding Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe, together with a persistent claim of descent from him, has been preserved. In both districts, there is independent evidence of the presence of Donald MacEwen Beg. The tradition of Lochaber identifies him with the Taillear Dubh. The traditions of all three localities lead up to much the same period. The reader must be left to judge whether there be two Richmonds in the field, or whether we have here one and the same man, in different guises, according as he was known to the scribes, or as he was known by the people.

(To be continued.)

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TO THE READER.—The present number completes our ninth annual volume, a period of existence not vouchsafed to any preceding Celtic publication, in any shape, Gaelic or English. The *Highlander* lived for eight years as a weekly newspaper, and five numbers of it appeared as a monthly periodical. The *Gael* continued, at more or less regular intervals, for six years. The *Teachdaire Gaidhealach*, and *Cuairtear nan Glèann* lived each for two years; the *Teachdaire Ur Gaidhealach* for seven months; *Bratach na Firinn* for about two years. The *Highland Pioneer*, the *Glasgow Highlander*, and the *Highland Echo*, had each a very short and precarious existence. Not less than six of these died or were killed since we started the *Celtic Magazine*. Not a few of them attempted to kick us aside, but we are still alive, alone in our glory, more prosperous and influential than at any previous period of our history; thanks mainly to our kind contributors and other good friends. It is unnecessary to say that we shall make every effort in future to deserve even greater success than we have yet attained, and to secure the continued patronage and good-will of our Highland countrymen at home and abroad.

## HIGHLAND LAND LAW REFORM CONFERENCE AT DINGWALL.

AT Dingwall, on the 2nd September 1884, in a conference of delegates from branches of the Highland Land Law Reform Associations of Ross, Inverness, Argyle, and Sutherland shires, and from Edinburgh, London, &c., Dr J. B. Clark, Chairman of the London Highland Land Law Reform Association, was, on the motion of Mr J. Macgilchrist Ross, Teaninich, called upon to preside. Donald Murray, London; Mr Walker, South Uist (in Gaelic); John Macpherson, Glendale (in Gaelic); John Mackay, C.E., Hereford; the Rev. John Mactavish, Inverness; Neil Macneil, Tiree; Michael Buchanan, Barra; the Rev. Mr Cumming, Melness, D. Macfarlane, M.P., and Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Inverness, addressed the meeting, expressing their views on the objects of the conference, whereupon

Mr Dugald Cowan, Edinburgh, moved, and it was unanimously agreed that, in the opinion of this conference, the condition of the Highlands and Islands, as detailed in the Report of the Royal Commission (Highlands and Islands), and the eviction, and threatened eviction, of crofters and cottars, necessitates:—

The introduction of a Bill, on the re-assembling of Parliament, applying to the districts embraced in the Royal Commissioners' inquiry, suspending the power now possessed by landlords of evicting crofters and cottars from their holdings and dwellings.

Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Inverness, moved, seconded by Mr Samuel Maclaren, merchant, Leith, and it was agreed to, that this conference expresses its thanks to the Prime Minister for the declaration in his speech of Saturday last of his intention to give earnest and sympathetic consideration to the condition of the Highland peasantry, but while approving generally of many of the proposals contained in the Crofter Commission Report, considers that alone these do not meet the wants of the people, and desires that these should be supplemented and amended. This was done as follows:

On the motion of Mr Ross, Teaninich, seconded by the Rev. Mr Maccallum, Rousay, Orkney, and agreed to, that, at the earliest possible date, a measure be introduced establishing a Land Court with judicial and administrative functions for the aforesaid district, with powers as between crofters and cottars on the one part, and landlords on the other.

That the Land Courts should determine what are fair rents.

On the motion of Dean of Guild Mackenzie, seconded by the Rev. John Mactavish, Inverness, and agreed to—

That all tenants of holdings shall have a Durable Tenure; which means that they shall not be subject to removal so long as the fair rents fixed by the Land Court are paid, and the conditions of their tenancies fulfilled.

It was agreed that all tenants of holdings shall have the right of Free Sale of their tenant right, the buyer of a tenant right being entitled to all the rights and privileges, and subject to the same conditions as the seller.



This Conference approves of the compulsory enlargement of old townships, and is of opinion that the formation of new townships should also be compulsory.

It was unanimously agreed that the recommendations of the Commission, in reference to the purchase of holdings, should be compulsory, with the consent of the Land Court.

It was also agreed that the recommendations of the Commission, in regard to new deer forests, should be also applied to existing forests.

It was unanimously agreed that there should be such a modification of the Game Laws as will entitle tenants to shoot deer and other game on land in their occupation.

It was unanimously agreed that no Procurator-Fiscal should be permitted to practise as an estate or law-agent.

It was unanimously agreed that immediate effect be given to the recommendations of the Commission regarding education, fisheries, and communications, and such other reforms as are of an administrative character.

It was agreed that the Land Tax, and other taxes for local and imperial purposes, should be levied on the present valuation.

It was unanimously agreed that no candidate for Parliament should be acceptable to a Highland constituency who will not accept the programme adopted by this conference; and that a bill be drafted to give it legislative effect.

It was unanimously agreed, on the motion of Mr D. Sinclair, Lochalsh, seconded by Mr John Mackay, C.E., Hereford, that efforts should be made to establish a newspaper, devoted to the advocacy of the Land Question, for circulation in the Highlands generally. Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Mr John Mackay, C.E., Hereford; Mr Stuart Glennie, barrister-at-law, London; Mr D. Sinclair, Auchtertyre, Lochalsh; Dr J. B. Clark, London; Councillor Nicol, Dingwall; Mr Dugald Cowan, Edinburgh; and Mr Donald Murray, London, were appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to consider the best means of successfully starting such a newspaper.

The conference closed with a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, to Mr Donald Murray, London, and Mr John Macrae, solicitor, Dingwall, the joint-secretaries.

At a conference of members of kindred societies, and others interested in the Land Question, held the same evening, it was moved by Sir George Campbell, M.P., seconded by Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Inverness, and unanimously agreed to—

That all the Land Law Reform Societies unite on a common platform to make this question of Land Law Reform a test one at the next election, and that two representatives from each Society be appointed as a Committee for this purpose.

The following duly accredited Delegates attended the Conference :—

The Rev. John Mactavish, Inverness.  
Alexander Mackenzie, Dean of Guild, do.  
John Macdonald, Exchange, do.  
Rev. Mr Mackenzie, Farr.  
Francis Macbean, Grantown.  
Duncan Mackenzie, do.  
Mr Calder, Strathspey.  
Donald Nicholson, "The Brave Old Crofter," Solitote, Isle of Skye.  
Roderick Macinnes, Steinscholl, do.  
Norman Stewart, do. do.  
Murdoch Maclean, do. do.  
Malcolm Mackenzie, do. do.

John Nicolson, Tote, Snizort, Isle of Skye  
 Neil Shaw, Eyre, do.  
 Duncan Macrae, Snizort, do.  
 John Beaton, Snizort, do.  
 Hector Mackenzie, Solitote, Kilmuir.  
 Donald Beaton, do.  
 Murdo Gillies, do.  
 John Macpherson, Glendale, do.  
 Neil Macneil, Tiree.  
 Donald Sinclair, do.  
 Charles Macdonald, Kilmaluag.  
 Angus Sutherland, Halladale, Sutherlandshire.  
 William Mackenzie, Halladale, do.  
 Alexander Bain, Rogart, do.  
 John Sutherland, Rogart, do.  
 William Matheson, Rogart, do.  
 William Mackay, Strathy, do.  
 John Mackay, Strathy, do.  
 Rev. Mr Cumming, Melness, do.  
 Farquhar Macrae, medical student, Dingwall.  
 Mr Mackenzie, do.  
 Thomas Nicol, do.  
 J. M'G. Ross, Teaninich, Alness.  
 Duncan Mackay, Durinish, Lochalsh.  
 D. Sinclair, do.  
 Mr Macrae, do.  
 Donald Macdonald, do.  
 Duncan Macrae, Kintail.  
 Mr Maclellan, Timaru, Strathpeffer.  
 Donald Macdonald, do.  
 Mr Macdonald, Rootfield, Ferrintosh.  
 Mr Forbes, Rootfield, do.  
 John Ross, Strath, Cairloch.  
 Alex. Macgregor, do.  
 Mr Grant, Resolis.  
 Mr Kemp, do.  
 Thomas Mackenzie, Logie-Easter.  
 James Matheson, Logie.  
 David Ross, do.  
 John Matheson, do.  
 Mr Macleod, teacher, Ardgay.  
 Mr Mackenzie, Craiglea, Culbokie.  
 John Fowler, Braeindon, do.  
 Malcolm Macqueen, North Uist.  
 Roderick Macdonald, South Uist.  
 Alexander Macdonald, do.  
 Peter Walker, do.  
 Angus Fraser, Uist.  
 M. Buchanan, Barra.  
 Rev. Mr Grant, Loanhead, Edinburgh.  
 Dugald Cowan, do.  
 Samuel Maclaren, do.  
 J. Mackenzie Macleod, Liverpool.  
 Rev. Archibald MacCallum, Rousay, Orkney.  
 James Macandrew, Glasgow.  
 And several others whose names we have not ascertained.

At the evening Conference there were present, in addition to the foregoing delegates :—Mr Findlater, Balveny, Dufftown, and Mr John Gordon, Balmuchy, from the Scottish Farmers' Alliance ;

and Mr Shaw Maxwell, from the Scottish Land Restoration League.

RESOLUTIONS CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY AT THE DEMONSTRATION ON WEDNESDAY, 3RD SEPTEMBER 1884; Professor Blackie in the chair.

D. H. Macfarlane, Esq. M.P., moved, and C. F. Mackintosh, Esq. M.P., seconded—

1.—That, in the opinion of this meeting, the condition of the Highland Crofters and Cottars, as detailed in the Report of the Royal Commission, is discreditable to this great and wealthy nation; and this meeting pledges itself to support the Highland Land Law Reform Association in its efforts to effect such changes in the Land Laws as will secure to the Highland people the right to live on their native soil under equitable conditions.

J. M'G. Ross, Esq. Teaninich, Alness, moved, and Sir George Campbell, M.P., seconded—

2.—That this meeting expresses its gratification that the Royal Commissioners recommend special legislation for the Highlands, in order to provide a remedy for acknowledged and flagrant grievances; and is of opinion that a measure on the lines of the Irish Land Act, 1881, but applicable to the special circumstances of Scotland, will alone provide a sufficient remedy.

Mr Shaw Maxwell, of Glasgow, moved, and the Rev. Mr Cumming, Melness, seconded—

3.—That this meeting pledges itself to use its utmost power and influence to secure the return to Parliament of such men only as are known to be in full and thorough sympathy with the people on the great social question of Land Law Reform.

Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Inverness, moved, and Major Macleod, Eskbank, Dalkeith, seconded—

4.—That this meeting approves of the Franchise Bill, introduced by Mr Gladstone, and passed by the House of Commons; that it protests against the refusal of the House of Lords to pass the bill; and that it records its emphatic opinion that the power of veto possessed by the Lords is productive of much mischief when exercised in opposition to the deliberate will of the people; and recommends such constitutional changes as will make this veto inoperative.

Mr D. Cowan, Edinburgh, moved, and Mr J. Mackenzie Macleod, Liverpool, seconded—

5.—That a copy of each of the said resolutions and a copy of the programme adopted by the Conference of Highland Land Law Reform Societies here yesterday, be transmitted to each of, the Premier, Earl Granville, the Home Secretary, the Lord Advocate, Mr Mundella, and each of the Scottish Members of Parliament.

Councillor Nicol, Dingwall, moved, and Mr John Mackay, C.E., Hereford, seconded, a vote of thanks to Professor Blackie for his conduct in the chair.

In addition to the movers and seconders, the above resolutions were supported—the first, by Mr Stuart Glennie, barrister-at-law, London, and the Rev. Mr MacCallum, E.C., Waternish, Isle of Skye, by the latter, in Gaelic; the second, by Dr Macdonald, late candidate for the County of Ross; and the third, by Dr J. B. Clark, London, Land Law Reform candidate for the County of Caithness, and others.

It is computed that from 1200 to 1500 men joined in the procession from the railway station to the park, and that over 3000 took part in the meeting held in the open air, at which the above resolutions were enthusiastically passed without a dissentient voice.

THE PROPHECIES OF THE BRAHAN SEER—THE FOURTH THOUSAND.—Messrs A. & W. Mackenzie, publishers of the *Celtic Magazine*, have just issued a SHILLING EDITION of this remarkable book, in paper covers, making the fourth thousand within the last few years. The *Scotsman* "recommends it to the lovers of the marvellous as a sweet morsel." Can be sent free by Post for 1s. 2d. to any address in the United Kingdom, Canada, the United States of America, and all places within the Postal Union.

### THE KILLIN COLLECTION OF GAELIC SONGS AND MUSIC.\*

MANY labourers have appeared in the field of Gaelic music and song, both in long past and recent years, and much excellent work has been done. The names of not a few diligent and successful workers will recall themselves at the mere mention of the fact—names alike of authors of original melody and of lyric poetry, of which our countrymen have produced no small store, and also of successful compilers of the labours of the bards and singers of the olden time. In truth the Highlanders are a musical people, as is clearly evinced by the great proportion of their native literature that has assumed the form of song. Ample, however, as has been the harvest to be reaped, it cannot be said that very much of the fruit has been placed beyond the power of "Time, the destroyer," and, consequently, a great deal of our music and poetry is being either lost or adulterated almost beyond recognition every day, as an alien tongue and foreign manners are prevailing over the length and breadth of the North; and may we not also say that much of our loss is due to the mistaken notions of our teachers, both lay and cleric. The latter supposed that the spontaneous and natural indulgence of the propensity for song which the Creator implanted in the bosom of the Celt was inimical to the exercise of the religious sense which is equally characteristic of the race. Our educationists, on the other hand, with an assiduity and persistence worthy of a better exemplification of common-sense, ably seconded the clergy in the repression and entire exclusion of the native element in the work of the schools. We have not yet been able to change all that, nor is it possible to undo the evil work of past years; but all honour to the men whose sympathetic and intelligent labours are devoted to the task of resisting, or at least of retarding, the baneful process of deterioration to which we have alluded. When the Celt comes to reckon up the roll of his benefactors in this respect, he will assuredly assign a conspicuous and honoured place to Mr Charles Stewart of Tigh-an-duin. The work on our table is not his first contribution to the conservative and truly

\* The Killin Collection of Gaelic Songs, with Music and Translations, by Charles Stewart, Tigh-an-duin, Killin. Edinburgh: MacLachlan & Stewart. 1884.

patriotic work of rescuing from decay, and adding to, our noble heritage of song and story, and we sincerely express the wish that he may persevere in the good work to which he has already with so much success devoted himself.

In the work before us, Mr Stewart does not profess to approach the subject of Gaelic music in the capacity of a scientist or philosopher. The materials are not yet complete, nor the modifying circumstances belonging to race and custom and external influence sufficiently investigated to admit of an authoritative and full pronouncement on the principles, modes, habits, and peculiarities of Gaelic music. Mr Stewart has, however, thrown himself loose from the empirical lines and the erroneous canons which were wont to be applied to the subject in past times, and he has called to his aid in the work of presenting Gaelic song in true native simplicity and form, men such as Professor Brown and Mr Merrylees, of Glasgow, whom Highlanders have already learned to trust as true exponents of the native features of our music. With the results of the musical jurisprudence of Mr Brown and the intelligent and sympathetic treatment of our melodies by Merrylees, Mr Stewart has in this collection given ample evidence of his own good taste in the choice of his examples and the preparation of the words, both Gaelic and English, for the delectation of his readers. The nett result is a collection of music which will charm any one with any capacity for musical enjoyment who is fortunate enough to possess a copy, and also fortunate enough to have at command an instrumentalist or a choir that can do justice to the merits of the work.

The introduction to the volume giving, as it does, a succinct view of the "root principles that govern Gaelic music and poetry" is highly important to the student of Gaelic song. These principles first pointed out by Mr Brown, and adopted by Mr Stewart, are (1) that Gaelic music is entirely modal, each melody being capable of having its sharps and flats placed in the signature, or of being played in the scale of C, without recurrence to the black digitals of the piano. This, it will be seen, effectually disposes of the perplexing sharps and flats so commonly introduced into our Highland melodies by former editors who clung to the old idea of "flat sevenths," and persisted in torturing all our music into the two modern major and minor

modes. Few things have been more disastrous to Highland music than the rigid application of this mistaken notion.

We are not sure that, without further consideration, we should be prepared to accept, without qualification, Mr Stewart's second canon, namely, that "the words occupy the first place, the music only the second." The universal tendency, at least with our modern songsters, is to adapt their compositions to some favourite air; the words, in many instances, being painfully destitute of merit, and merely an evidence of the author's intense appreciation of the beauty of the melody, on the popularity of which he endeavours to float his doggerel down to future ages. However, whatever grounds there may be for demurring to Mr Stewart's second principle, we can afford to pardon his assertion of it, in view of his vivid observations on the *rationale* of poetic and musical composition, and the habit of musical recitation and expression among the ancient Gael. We cannot forbear quoting:—

The second principle brings us to the historical fact that the bards first composed the poetry; then, by that aesthetic instinct which connects poetry with music, developed the melody; and, lastly, with this united result of genius, spoke and sang this glorious blending to the accompaniment of the harp. The most exalted function of music consists in its being the interpreter and intensifier of the highest poetic thought and feeling, combined with the aptest words for expressing that thought and feeling. The original form of the music was, without doubt, that of the chant; not, however, the modern form of prose chant, in which, as usually sung, it is impossible correctly to enunciate the words, but a chant where every word not only had its own note, but that note so wedded to it as to bring out the full meaning. This was one result of the poetry, music, and song emanating from one person, who threw into it the life, love, and energy of his whole being. The bard was wonderfully equipped for delivering his glowing message. He had not only the gifts of song in their highest form, but was also a patriot and a hero, and spoke and sung from the grandest and noblest conceptions stirring within his spirit.

The third principle enunciated by Mr Stewart, is that "the words and music implicitly follow the idiosyncrasies of the language." In amplifying this statement, however, Mr Stewart is inaccurate in saying that it is a peculiarity in Gaelic that "all words of more than one syllable have the accent on the penultimate, and never on the last syllable." The real fact is that all pure Gaelic words are accented on the *first* syllable. The accent can, therefore, fall on the penultimate when the word consists of two syllables. The general effect, however, is as Mr Stewart describes it: there is a tendency to accent some syllable before the final one. The final one can only have the accent when it happens to be a monosyllable.

Besides the linguistic peculiarity referred to, there are other

influences which account for certain of the idiosyncrasies of Gaelic music. The adoption of the bagpipe, with its very limited gamut, as the national instrument, has had, we fear, a most disastrous effect on our vocal music, cramping its scope, and seriously affecting the free flow of its melody. It is, therefore, doubly important that more attention should be devoted to the cultivation and preservation of our vocal melodies, many of which, as Mr Stewart will admit, date from a time far anterior to the introduction of the bagpipe.

Mr Stewart's selection of songs is large and varied. With the aid of the English translations which accompany them, our Lowland friends will be able so far to enter intelligently into the pleasures of the work. Many of the translations are really admirable, others are somewhat indifferent. In one or two we fear the translator has quite missed the sense of his author. We are sorry to mention as one of these, that exquisite lyric, "A Bhanarach dhonn a' Chruidh." In the two concluding stanzas quoted, the translator has completely murdered the sense—in the first, by misunderstanding the grammatical arrangement of the poet's words, and in the other, by mistaking *cuachag*, a milk-pail, for *cuach*, the cuckoo, and *claraibh*, staves, for *clarsach*, a harp. These may, by some people, be called small blemishes in a work of such general excellence, but it must be remembered that Mr Stewart is no mere tyro, and would resent being criticised as a raw beginner in Gaelic interpretation. We have also observed a considerable number of errors of the press, but these do not so materially mar the reader's enjoyment of this otherwise admirable work. Mr Stewart further enriches the collection by prefixing to many of the songs very interesting and trustworthy historical and critical notes.

As we have already indicated, it is not necessary to do more than to mention that the harmonies and musical arrangements are by Mr Merrylees, to guarantee their being in every respect worthy of confidence, and in keeping with the simple genius of the melodies. This is a feature of the work which is in every respect most satisfactory, and cannot fail to minister delight even where the words would excite no appreciation. Our sincere wish is that the rapid sale of the present work will lead to another and another from the same competent hands.

The outward and mechanical part of the work leaves



nothing to be desired. The printing is clear ; the outward get-up of the book is tasteful, and entitles it to a place on the drawing-room table, altogether irrespective of its great intrinsic merit. It should be mentioned that the volume is printed in both the old and the new notations, and is arranged for four voices, with very effective pianoforte accompaniments.

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### ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN THE ISLE OF SKYE.

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FOR years past the Skyeman's knowledge of civil law has been confined pretty much to the fact that it has the power to evict him and his family from their home. This, perhaps, is not entirely the fault of the law, but the law gets the principal share of the odium consequent upon the proceedings which it authorises. One consequence of this is, that the agitation in Skye has hitherto been directed, not so much against factors and landlords, who are responsible for the wrongs from which Skyemen suffer, as against the law which empowers them to act. There has been no question with them about the purity of the administration of justice, although the justice meted out to them has sometimes been scant enough. A case which recently occurred suggests, however, the existence of a state of matters which may change the current of feeling on this subject. Skye is a slumbering volcano, but those who should be most alive to the mutterings around them seem utterly deaf.

The Island rejoices in a Sheriff-Substitute and Procurator-Fiscal all to herself, and in the voluminous evidence led before the Royal Commission, nothing was said which in any way affected the honour or integrity of these gentlemen, but the case to which reference has been made, which came before the Inverness Sheriff Court a few days ago, raises a question which does not seem to have come before the Royal Commission, and it very seriously affects the administration of criminal law in Skye. The facts, so far as they came to light, seem to be these :—Mrs Macdonald, the wife of a schoolmaster, living near Broadford, managed a croft tenanted by her husband at some distance from his school. Sometime between the winter of 1882 and

the spring of 1883, she lost a ewe, and in June 1883, two neighbouring shepherds brought her a ewe and a lamb which they said they had found on the hill grazing, and had brought to her in consequence of their recognition of her husband's mark on the ewe. She recognised the mark also, and kept the ewe and the lamb, had the former fleeced and the latter marked. On 7th August 1883, a neighbouring crofter, John Macinnes, came to Mrs Macdonald's house in her absence, and carried away the ewe and the lamb, saying they were his property. Between that time and the month of May 1884, Mrs Macdonald repeatedly claimed re-delivery of the ewe and the lamb, but Macinnes refused to give them up. In the month of May 1884, he wrote Mrs Macdonald a letter, requesting delivery of the fleece of the ewe, or of another fleece equally good. To this letter Mrs Macdonald replied by a letter, produced by Macinnes, and read in Court, substantially saying that neither ewe, lamb, nor fleece were Macinnes's, but that she was willing to refer the question of property to a third party, and to abide by his decision. Macinnes then, as he stated in the witness-box, spoke to the district policeman on the subject, and, on 16th of July 1884, Mrs Macdonald was apprehended, and conveyed as a prisoner to Portree, at the instance of the Procurator-Fiscal of Skye, charged with stealing a sheep, a lamb, and a fleece. On the following day she was brought before Sheriff Speirs at Portree, and emitted a declaration, in which she explained that the ewe and the lamb were her own property, that the former had gone amissing between the winter of 1882 and the summer of 1883, and was recognised as hers by neighbours, who brought it to her, and that, although she believed both ewe and lamb were her property, that they had been in Macinnes's possession for nearly twelve months before she was charged with stealing them. One would have thought that an explanation of this sort would have made the Sheriff-Substitute hesitate before committing to prison a respectable woman of nearly 50 years of age, who had lived in the Island all her life, without even the suspicion of crime attaching to her, and whose husband held an important public office in the Island, on such a serious charge as sheep-stealing, but the Sheriff-Substitute seems to have had no hesitation, and, apparently without waiting for a precognition of the witnesses, committed Mrs Macdonald to prison on the very grave

charge preferred against her. An application was immediately made to him for her liberation on bail, but this he had no power to grant, and for eight days she remained in prison in Portree, until the consent of the Crown Office was obtained to the acceptance of bail. What the nature of the precognition afterwards taken by the Procurator-Fiscal and sent to the Crown Office may have been, it is impossible to say, but the result was, that a trial by Sheriff and jury at Inverness was ordered. The trial came off on 5th September 1884, and the result was, that, in the middle of the cross-examination of John Macinnes, the first witness for the Crown, the principal Procurator-Fiscal for the County of Inverness, who had nothing to do with the getting up of the case, abandoned the charge, asked the jury to return a verdict of Not Guilty, and stated that Mrs Macdonald left the bar without the slightest stain upon her character, a remark which was concurred in by Sheriff Blair, the principal Sheriff-Substitute of the County, who presided at the trial. Macinnes, in his cross-examination, stated that he did not then charge, and never had charged, Mrs Macdonald with the theft of the ewe and lamb, which he had taken possession of. When she refused to give up the fleece, he spoke to the policeman on the subject, but apparently there was no charge of theft, even as regarded the fleece. In the face of such evidence, it is hardly to be wondered at that the Procurator-Fiscal should have made haste to stop the cross-examination, and abandon the charge. But it may be asked how the charge ever came to be made? This is a question which probably only the Procurator-Fiscal of Skye is able to answer, and the public are entitled to get his answer.

The Report of the Crofters' Commission contains a recommendation that Procurators-Fiscal "should be prohibited from doing any professional work, or any business for profit, other than their proper business." Probably, if that recommendation were adopted as regards the Island of Skye, it would have little practical effect, the attention of the Procurator-Fiscal there being as it is, pretty much confined to his official duties. But in Skye, and in some other parts of the Highlands, the terms upon which Procurators-Fiscal hold office are such as should not attach to the holding of any public office involving the exercise of the enormous powers for evil entrusted to those officers. It is somewhat singular that it never seems to have been mentioned to the Royal Commission that several Procurators-Fiscal in the more

sparsely peopled districts of the Highlands are paid, not by a fixed salary, but by fees for specific work performed. The Government in this way offers a premium for the multiplication of criminal business, and it is too much to expect a public officer, with, perhaps, nothing to depend upon but his official income, to deal in an entirely disinterested spirit with every complaint made to him in his official capacity. We do not know the exact state of the facts, but we believe there is also a higher scale of payment for the more important class of cases which are reported to Crown Counsel, than for unreported cases. In this way a direct inducement is held out to magnify trifling cases into the appearance of important ones. We do not mean to say that any Procurator-Fiscal who is paid in this way is consciously biassed in the performance of his public functions by the fact that his remuneration depends upon the amount of crime in his district, or that that element enters in any way into the case now in question; but we do say that a public office of such responsibility as that of Procurator-Fiscal, an office, the holder of which has the power to blast the happiness and reputation of innocent members of the community, should not be held on terms which provoke to the prostitution of public functions for purposes of private gain.

When the recommendation of the Crofters' Commission already referred to, was brought under the notice of the House of Commons, the Lord Advocate stated as a reason for not giving effect to it, the additional expense which the adoption of the recommendation would involve upon the public. The reformation we now advocate, namely, the placing of all Procurators-Fiscal on salary, is one which can be carried out without an additional penny of expense to the public; and we trust that the ensuing Session of Parliament will see an end put to a system which is liable to such terrible abuse.

The House of Commons last year, on the motion of Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., asked for a Return of all the cases brought for trial to Inverness from the Western Isles and the Fort-William district during the last twenty years, the number of convictions obtained, and the cost of these cases. Why has this Return not been printed? We look forward to the information which it is sure to disclose with much interest, and trust that its appearance will not be further delayed. It will have a most important bearing on the subject discussed in this article.

## GLENCAIRN'S DUEL.

THE following incidents occurred at the time of the Earl of Glencairn's Highland expedition in 1653. After having, with considerable trouble, raised a large body of men, he had to give up the command to General Middleton, who was appointed commander-in-chief. This appointment appears to have been very unpopular with Glencairn's men, who were greatly attached to him, and also to have caused considerable irritation on the part of the officers, which found vent in more than one duel.

On General Middleton assuming command, he ordered a review of the Earl's forces, to inspect the men, horses, and arms. As was to be expected among irregular troops so hastily gathered together, there were many deficiencies, which General Middleton's officers were not slow to observe and openly comment upon, much to the annoyance of Glencairn and his officers. Their angry feelings were, perhaps, still more inflamed by the fact of their having just at this time an unusual quantity of wine at their disposal; for, a day or two before, an English ship, laden with about forty tuns of French wine, had been driven ashore on the coast of Sutherlandshire, and was seized by General Middleton, who distributed the wine among the different officers. While the men were all assembled, Glencairn rode along the ranks, and told them that he now held no higher command than a Colonelcy, and while thanking them for the ready obedience they had given to him, he trusted they would serve their new commander equally well. The men were much moved by this address, and plainly showed they did not like the change; but vowed they would follow Glencairn to any part of the world.

The Earl then invited the General and all the principal officers to dine with him at his quarters, which were at the house of the Laird of Kettle, four miles from Dornoch, where the headquarters were. After having entertained them to the best of everything the country afforded, he turned to the General, and pledging him in a glass of wine said, "My Lord General, you see what a gallant army these worthy gentlemen here present and I have gathered together, at a time when it would hardly be expected that any number durst meet together: these men have

come out to serve his Majesty at the hazard of their lives, and of all that is dear to them. I hope, therefore, you will give them all the encouragement to do their duty that lies in your power." Before General Middleton could reply, Sir George Munro, who had before made himself very disagreeable to Glencairn, by his slighting remarks on the appearance of his men, started up, and with an oath exclaimed, "my Lord, the men you speak of are nothing but a number of thieves and robbers; and ere long, I will bring another sort of men to the field."

This most uncalled for and offensive speech threw the company into confusion. Glencairn's officers rose with their hands on their swords, all speaking at once, demanding the remark to be withdrawn and apologised for. Glengarry, who was present, seemed to think the insult was specially intended for him, and could only be with great difficulty restrained by Glencairn, who commanded him to be quiet, saying, "Glengarry, I am more concerned in this affront than you are;" then, turning to Munro, he exclaimed with heat, "You, sir, are a base liar; for they are neither thieves nor robbers, but gallant gentlemen and good soldiers."

General Middleton now found it necessary to interfere, and raising his voice, commanded them both, on their allegiance, to keep the peace, pointing out the injury that would accrue to the King's cause, if they thus quarrelled among themselves, "therefore," he continued, "I will have you to make friends at once," and filling a glass with wine, he turned to the Earl, saying, "My Lord Glencairn, I think you did the greatest wrong in giving Sir George the lie; so you shall drink to him, and he shall pledge you."

Glencairn, seeing the truth of the General's remarks, was willing to overlook the insult to himself, and gracefully taking the glass drank to Sir George, who, however, did not respond in an equally agreeable manner, but in a surly way muttered some indistinct words. The matter was then passed by, and the company broke up to return to headquarters.

Glencairn accompanied the General for about a mile, when he returned with only two gentlemen, Colonel Blackadder and John Graham of Deuchrie. He appeared to have quite recovered from his annoyance, and laid himself out to be amused. The daughter

of the Laird of Kettle was a good musician, and played on the virginals, while the servants and attendants danced. Just as supper was served, and the Earl going to sit down, a servant announced that Alexander Munro, brother of Sir George, was at the gate seeking an audience of the Earl. Glencairn at once gave orders for his admittance, met him at the door, shook hands with him, and invited him to join them at supper, which he did, and afterwards spent two or three hours very pleasantly, with singing and dancing. Glencairn and Munro were observed to have a few minutes private conversation together, but this attracted no attention, as neither of them showed by their manner that anything unusual was going on, although in those few minutes the particulars of a deadly duel were arranged. Munro at length took his leave, and the household retired to rest.

The Earl slept in a double-bedded room, he occupying one bed, and Colonel Blackadder and Graham of Deuchrie, the other. When all were sound asleep, Glencairn rose, and without waking anyone but his servant, John White, whom he took with him, went out to meet Sir George Munro, half way between his quarters and Dornoch. Here Sir George met them, accompanied by his brother, Alexander, who had taken the challenge to the Earl. The duel was to be fought on horseback, with one pistol each, and afterwards with broadswords. They both fired at once, without any effect, and then, drawing their swords, they attacked each other with concentrated fury. After a pass or two, Sir George received a cut on his bridle hand, which caused him to lose control of his horse; on which he asked the Earl's permission to finish the duel on foot. Glencairn instantly dismounted, exclaiming, "You base carle; I will show you that I will match you either on foot or horseback!" He soon proved this was no idle boast, for in a few minutes Sir George was *hors de combat*, with a severe cut on his brow, which bled so profusely that he was quite blinded. Still, Glencairn was not satisfied, and made a lunge with the intention of running his enemy through the body; but John White, with a quick movement interfered, and forced up his sword, saying, "That is enough, my lord; you have got the better of him." Glencairn, however, was so enraged that he turned on his faithful servant and gave him a severe blow across the shoulders for daring to interfere. However, he did



not resume the duel ; indeed, Sir George was quite helpless, and his brother had great difficulty in getting him back to Dornoch. The Earl and his attendant returned, and got into the house again without anyone knowing anything of the matter.

When General Middleton heard of the tragic affair he was exceedingly angry, and sent an officer, Captain Campbell, with a guard to secure the Earl, take his sword from him, and keep him a prisoner on parole, while he used every endeavour to heal the breach between them. He might have been successful, had not Glencairn been again deeply offended by the following circumstance :—

The recent duel was naturally the subject of discussion among the officers, who took different sides, and two of them, Livingston and Lindsay, got so angry over the dispute, that nothing would satisfy them but fighting a duel themselves, with the sad result that Livingston, who was a friend of Sir George Munro, was killed. Lindsay was immediately arrested, tried, and sentenced to be shot at the Cross of Dornoch at four o'clock the same day.

The Earl made every effort to save his friend's life, but the General turned a deaf ear to all his entreaties, and the sentence was carried out.

Glencairn was very annoyed at the evident partiality shown by the General to Sir George Munro, and finding it impossible to co-operate with them, he determined to leave them altogether. He accordingly marched away southwards with only his own troop and a few gentlemen volunteers ; not a hundred men in all.

On learning of their defection, the General sent a strong party after them with orders either to bring them back or fight them. Glencairn, however, pushed on to Assynt, and secured the passes, so that he was able to defy double their number, and they returned without attacking him. Glencairn then continued his march to Kintail, thence to Lochbroom, Lochaber, Loch-Rannoch, Loch-Tay, and on to Killin, where he was joined by Sir George Maxwell with a hundred men, William, Earl of Selkirk, with sixty, and Lord Forrester with eighty more, so that he found himself at the head of about 400 horsemen. But the Earl was too good a subject to allow his personal feelings to stand in the way of his duty, so he sent the whole to General Middleton "so

that they might not be wanting in their duty to the King's service where occasion might offer."

Glencairn was now taken seriously ill ; but still continued his efforts to raise men for his sovereign, and within two months had again got together two hundred horse. But all his loyal exertions were in vain ; the cause was doomed, General Middleton was utterly defeated and his army scattered. Many of them came to Glencairn and offered their services. He, however, saw the inutility of further resistance, and decided upon capitulating with the victorious General Monk.

He accordingly entered into a treaty with him, but it was nearly a month before it was concluded ; indeed, at one time the negotiation was broken off altogether, when the Earl made a sudden raid upon Dumbarton, killed between thirty and forty men, took twenty more prisoners, besides a number of horses and two hundred loads of corn. This successful attack made Monk anxious to complete the treaty of capitulation, which he did on the following favourable conditions, as described by one of Glencairn's officers, who was present :—

"That all the officers and soldiers should be indemnified as to their lives and fortunes, and that they should have passes delivered to each to secure their safety in travelling through the country to their own respective homes, they doing nothing prejudicial to the present Government. The officers were to be allowed all their horses and arms, to be disposed of as they pleased. They were also to have the liberty of wearing their swords when they travelled through the country. The common soldiers were allowed to sell their horses ; they were obliged to deliver up their arms, but it was ordained that they were to receive the full value for them, as it should be fixed by two officers of Lord Glencairn's and two of General Monk's. All which particulars were punctually performed by the General. Two long tables were placed upon the green below the castle, at which all the men received their passes, and the common soldiers the money for their arms.

"This happened upon the 4th day of September 1654. The Earl of Glencairn that same night crossed the water, and came to his own house of Finlayston."

M. A. ROSE.

